

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01  
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02  
AGRE-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 FEA-01  
NSC-05 TRSE-00 USIA-06 /083 W  
-----281027Z 005716 /12

R 280805Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY RANGOON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3229

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 RANGOON 0863

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, XX

SUBJ: POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

REF: STATE 038356, STATE 038338, STATE 043659

PART I

ONE: U.S. INTERESTS

(THE FOLLOWING U.S. INTERESTS ARE SO IMPLICIT IN THE REFTELS  
AND OTHER CURRENT POLICY GUIDELINES AS TO REQUIRE NO FURTHER  
AMPLIFICATION.)

INT. A. CONTROL OR PREVENTION OF ILLICIT TRAFFIN IN  
NARCOTICS, ESPECIALLY THE SUBSTANTIAL CURTAILMENT OF THE FLOW  
OF BURMESE NARCOTICS INTO THE ILLICIT INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC;

INT. B. ENHANCEMENT OF THE POBABILITY THAT BURMA WILL  
EVENTUALLY MAKE ITS OPTIMUM CONTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL AND WORLD  
ECONOMIC WELLBEING;

INT. C. MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC ACCESS FOR AMERICANS  
TO BURMA;

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INT. D. DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLOITATION OF INTELLIGENCE  
OPPORTUNITIES;

INT. E. ENRICHMENT OF CULTURAL INTERCHANGES BETWEEN  
BURMA AND THE US;

INT. F. ENSURING THAT WHATEVER INFLUENCE BURMAS HAS ON

THE BEHAVIOR OF THE THIRD COUNTRIES IS EXERTED IN WAYS CONSONANT WITH U.S. INTERESTS; AND,

INT. G. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES BURMA AFFORDS FOR DIRECT ACCESS TO AND INFLUENCE UPON THIRD COUNTRY BEHAVIOR;

INT. H. EXPRESSING THE CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THE PHYSICAL WELLBEING OF THE PEOPLE OF BURMA;

INT. I. EXPRESSING THE CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE BURMESE PEOPLE.

TWO: OVERVIEW

(A) GUB HAS HAD CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS IN DISRUPTING THE FLOW OF BURMESE OPIUM INTO THE ILLICIT TRAFFIC, THROUGH MILITARY ACTION AGAINST TRAFFICKERS AND REFINERIES (PARTLY THANKS TO U.S.-SUPPLIED INTELLIGENCE AS WELL AS HELICOPTERS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT) AND THROUGH POPPY CROP DESTRUCTION. PRESENT GUB MILITARY CAPABILITIES WILL NOT SUPPORT A RADICAL EXPANSION OF THE MILITARY DISRUPTION EFFORT, BUT THERE IS SCOPE FOR INTENSIFICATION OF SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORT.

(B AND C) WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO, THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVEMENTS IN BURMA'S ECONOMIC POLICIES THAT WOULD EVENTUALLY: 1) MAKE ACCESS TO BURMA AND ITS RESOURCES MORE PROFITABLE, AND 2) ALLOW BURMA TO PLAY A MORE POSITIVE ROLE IN WORLD COMMERCE. KEY TO SUCH IMPROVEMENTS IS THE REDUCTION OF CERTAIN IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS NOW IMPOSED UPON

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DECISION-MAKERS BY THE TOP LEADERSHIP, SO AS TO REVIVE, DEVELOP AND MAKE USE OF PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURIAL SKILLS AND ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTMENT. OUR CURRENT POSTURE OF WAITING UNTIL SUCH IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BEFORE AGREEING TO CONSIDER SIGNIFICANT AID IS CORRECT AND INDEED MAY HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED TO THE SLIGHT FORWARD MOTION WE HAVE SEEN.

(D, F, AND G) GUB INTERACTIONS WITH VIETNAME AND LAOS WILL CONTINUE RELATIVELY ACTIVE, REFLECTING IN PART THE BURMESE HOPE THAT THE SRV MAY IN TIME BECOME A "FORCE FOR INDEPENDENCE" IN SEA (PRIMARILY AGAINST THE PRC); GUB WILL REMAIN SYMPATHETIC TO ASEAN BUT WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AS A PRECONDITION TO ANY CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH IT. PRC AND USSR COMPETITION FOR BURMA'S FAVOR WILL NOT ASSUME MAJOR PROPORTIONS, BUT IT WILL KEEP BOTH OF THEM FAIRLY HEAVILY REPRESENTED IN BURMA. SINCE THE SINO-SOVIET COMPETITION IS CURRENTLY TAKING PEACEFUL DIRECTIONS, THE EFFECT OF THE COMPETITION ON CHINESE AND SOVIET POLICIES WILL LIKELY BE TO THE GOOD (E.G., THE PRC MAY REDUCE ITS SUPPORT OF BURMESE INSURGENTS;

THE USSR WILL TRY TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF DICTATING TO OR THREATENING THE NATIONS OF SEA). THESE INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENTS OF BURMA WILL BOTH OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR AND REQUIRE MORE INTELLIGENCE-COLLECTION EFFORT THAN THE CURRENT INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE OF BURMA WARRANTS. THIRD COUNTRIES' INTEREST AND REPRESENTATION IN BURMA ALSO AFFORD OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DIRECT EXERCISE OF INFLUENCE (E.G., COORDINATION WITH JAPAN IN REGARD TO REGIONAL AID POLICIES), AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACTS AND GOODWILL (E.G., AMONG COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVES IN BURMA).

(E) CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN BURMA AND THE US ARE INCREASING, AND THERE ARE MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXERTION OF EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THE FREQUENCY AND DEPTH OF SUCH CONTACTS; HOWEVER, CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL CONTACTS ARE STILL, AT THIS STAGE, LESS VALUABLE IN THEMSELVES THAN FOR THE CONTRIBUTION THEY MAKE TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF OTHER INTERESTS.  
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(H) A PARTICULAR NEED TO EXPRESS HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO BURMA IS NOT FORESEEABLE AT THIS TIME. A NATURAL DISASTER--EARTHQUAKE OR STOM--IS ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY, AND RELIEF CONTRIBUTIONS (DESPITE SOME DIVERSION OF SUPPLIES INTO THE BLACK MARKET) ARE GENERALLY WELL HANDLED AND FAIRLY PUBLICIZED.

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FM AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3230

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 RANGOON 0863

(I) FOR A COUNTRY CURRENTLY RESISTING MULTIPLE INSURGEN-  
CIES, SECESSIONIST TENDENCIES, AND TERRORIST HARASSMENT, NOT  
TO MENTION A PRECARIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION, BURMA'S HUMAN  
RIGHTS RECORD IS NOT THAT BAD. HOWEVER, AS ECONOMIC CONDITIONS  
DETERIORATE FURTHER AND DISCONTENT RISES, AN EXCESSIVE RESORT  
TO REPRESSIVE MEASURES BY THE GUB IS POSSIBLE. DEPENDING ON  
CIRCUMSTANCES (WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE GAUGED EXTREMELY CARE-  
FULLY) AN AMERICAN EXPRESSION OF CONCERN, PRIVATE OR  
PUBLIC, MIGHT HAVE CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT. THE UNITED STATES  
IS THE OBJECT OF MUCH POPULAR GOODWILL AND RESPECT.

### THREE: OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES

DEFINITIONS: WITH RESPECT TO EACH OF THE "INTERESTS" IDEN-  
TIFIED UNDER "ONE" ABOVE, THE EMBASSY AND THE USG WILL TRY,  
BY PURSUING VARIOUS "COURSES OF ACTION", TO ATTAIN THE MOST  
SATISFACTORY STATE THOUGHT LIKELY TO BE ATTAINABLE IN THE  
GIVEN TIME UNDER ANTICIPATED CONDITIONS. THIS OPTIMUM ATTAIN-  
ABLE STATE MAY, IN THE CASE OF CERTAIN INTERESTS, BE DESCRIB-  
ABLE IN SPECIFIC TERMS OF SOME POTENTIAL EVEN(S) OR  
SITUATION(S). IN THE CASE OF CERTAIN OTHER INTERESTS, IT IS  
NOT POSSIBLE TO BE VERY SPECIFIC, AND THE OPTIMUM ATTAINABLE  
STATE HAS TO BE DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF THE SUCCESSFUL EXPLOITA-  
TION OF ALL APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITIES, EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO  
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ALL PERTINENT CONTINGENCIES, FULL DISCHARGE OF A WORKLOAD, ETC.  
WE HAVE TRIED TO IDENTIFY SOME SUCH OPTIMUM STATE, WHETHER IN  
SPECIFIC OR UN-SPECIFIC TERMS, WITH RESPECT TO EACH US  
INTEREST, AND WE CALL THESE OPTIMUM-ATTAINABLE-STATE-  
DESCRIPTIONS "OBJECTIVES". AN "ISSUE" ARISES WHEN THERE IS  
A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO OR MORE INTERESTS,  
OBJECTIVES, OR COURSES OF ACTION, OR A SERIOUS QUESTION OF  
PRINCIPLE, PROPRIETY, OR FEASIBILITY.

### TABLE OF OBJECTIVES:

#### A. NARCOTICS CONTROL OBJECTIVES:

OBJ.A(1) GUB INITIATION OF AN EFFECTIVE HERBICIDES  
PROGRAM;

OBJ. A(2) EXPANSION F GUB CROP-DESTRUCTION EFFORTS;

OBJ. A(3) SUSTAINED GUB MILITARY ACTIONS TO DISRUPT  
OPIUM TRANSPORT AND REFINING;

OBJ. A(4) GUB-THAI COOPERATION AND COORDINATION IN ANTI-  
NARCOTICS OPERATIONS;

OBJ. A(5) PARTICIPATION BY GUB IN ACTIVITIES OF INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS-CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS;

B. ECONOMIC ENHANCEMENT OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. B(1) INITIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION BY GUB OF ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES TO BRING ABOUT LIBERALIZATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT;

OBJ. B(2) INITIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION BY GUB OF ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES TO BRING ABOUT MOBILIZATION OF PRIVATE RESOURCES FOR ECONOMIC INVESTMENT.

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OBJ.B(3) EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION BY GUB OF ASSISTANCE FROM MULTI-NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

C. ECONOMIC ACCESS OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. C(1) A SITUATION IN WHICH ALL AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN DESIRING IT HAVE THE INFORMATION, FACILITATION, AND ADVICE THEY NEED TO HELP THEM DO PROFITABLE BUSINESS WITH BURMA.

OBJ. C(2) A SITUATION IN WHICH KNOWLEDGE OF ALL IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES TO PROFIT FROM TRANSACTIONS INVOLVING BURMA IS AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

OBJ. C(3) THE ABSENCE OF ANY GUB PRACTICE OR POLICY MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR AMERICANS THAN FOR OTHER FOREIGNERS TO HAVE PROFITABLE ACCESS TO BURMA.

D. INTELLIGENCE OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. D(1) A SITUATION IN WHICH ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION USEFUL IN UNDERSTANDING AND PREDICTING EVENTS IN OR INVOLVING BURMA OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS IS COLLECTED;

OBJ. D(2) A SITUATION IN WHICH ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION USEFUL IN UNDERSTANDING AND PREDICTING EVENTS ELSEWHERE THAN IN BURMA OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS IS COLLECTED;

OBJ. D(3) A SITUATION IN WHICH ALL IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES TO ENHANCE THE USC'S FUTURE ABILITY TO PURSUE OBJECTIVES D (1) AND (2) ARE SUCCESSFULLY EXPLOITED.

E. CULTURAL OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. E(1) A SITUATION IN WHICH EDUCATED BURMESE HAVE ACCESS TO REPRESENTATIVE PRODUCTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE COMPAR-

ABLE TO THEIR ACCESS TO OTHER MAJOR CULTURES (WITH DUE  
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ALLOWIANCE FOR PROXIMITY);

OBJ. E(2) A SITUATION IN WHICH AMERICANS HAVE FREE  
ACCESS TO BURMA FOR CULTURAL PURSUITS, AND AMERICANS IN THE  
U.S. HAVE APPROPRIATE ACCESS TO REPRESENTATIVE PRODUCTS OF  
BURMA CULTURE.

F. DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. F(1) GUB PARTICIPATION IN ALL APPROPRIATE INTER-  
ACTIONS WITH ASEAN;

OBJ. F(2) CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN GUB AND THAI  
GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS NOT LIMITED TO NARCOTIC CONTROL;

OBJ. F(3) GUB ADOPTION, IN NON-ALIGNED FORA, THE UN,  
AND APPROPRIATE BILATERAL CONTEXTS, OF POSITIONS COMPATIBLE  
WITH U.S. INTERESTS.

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R 280805Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3231

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 RANGOON 0863

G. THIRD-COUNTRY DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVE:

OBJ. G MAINTENANCE OF CONTACTS AND GOODWILL VIS-A-VIS  
ALL THIRD-COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVES IN BURMA.

H. HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVE:

OBJ. H TO ENSURE A TIMELY, APPROPRIATE, AND EFFICIENT RESPONSE WHEN MAJOR MISFORTUNES BEFALL THE BURMESE PEOPLE.

I. HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES:

OBJ. I(1) SCRUPULOUS ATTENTION BY THE GUB TO THE POLITICAL AND OTHER RIGHTS OF THE BURMESE PEOPLE;

OBJ. I(2) GUB SUPPORT OF U.S. HUMAN-RIGHTS POLICIES.

TABLE OF COURSES OF ACTION:

COURSE 1: "ROUTINE" DIPLOMACY: (CULTIVATING GOODWILL, REPRESENTATION, ESTABLISHMENT OF RECIPROCAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS, EXPOSITION AND PERSUASION; PROVIDING USG WITH FEEDBACK AND RECOMMENDATIONS);

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COURSE 2: INFORMATION PROGRAM: (IN A CLOSED SOCIETY WITH VERY LIEELT DOMESTIC MEDIA ACTIVITY AND RESTRICTED ACCESS TO FOREIGN MEDIA, AND WITH A LARGELY SOCIALIST--I.E., BORING-- "COMPETITION", USIS PROFESSIONAL OUTPUT MAKES A BIG IMPACT);

COURSE 3: EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM:

(THOUGH SMALL, RANGOON'S EXCHANGE PROGRAM ACHIEVES SIGNIFICANT IMPACT THROUGH CLOSE INTEGRATION WITH GUB PROGRAMS: -- E.G., TWO-WAY EXCHANGES OF PERSONS TO HELP GUB ESTABLISH ITS REGIONAL COLLEGES);

COURSE 4: PROVISION TO GUB AGENCIES OF TIMELY INFORMATION FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ANTI-NARCOTICS OPERATIONS;

COURSE 5; FURTHER EXPANSION F DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN DEA REPRESENTATIVES AND GUB AGENCIES AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL;

COURSE 6: PROVISION TO GUB OF SELECTED EQUIPMENT LIMITED TO PRIMARY USE IN NARCOTICS CONTROL;

COURSE 7: ENCOURAGEMENT AND FACILITATION OF GUB PARTICIPATION IN U.S. NARCOTICS TRAINING PROGRAMS;

COURSE 8: ENCOURAGEMENT THROUGH ADVICE TO THE GUB OR THE INTERNATIONAL BODIES INVOLVED OF GUB REPRESENTATION AT

NARCOTICS MEETINGS;

COURSE 9: ASSISTANCE TO THE GUB, IF REQUESTED, IN  
PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING A HERBICIDES PROGRAM.

COURSE 10: USG PARTICIPATION IN IBRD SPONSORED CON-  
SULTATIVE AID GROUP WITH A POSTURE COMBINING SYMPATHY WITH  
A FIRM INSISTENCE ON DEMONSTRATED PROGRESS AS A NECESSARY  
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PRECONDITION FOR ACTUAL AID, AND UTILIZATION OF AID CON-  
SULTATIVE GROUP SESSIONS AS OCCASIONS FOR CONVEYING ADVICE  
TO GUB AND POLICY COORDINATION WITH OTHER MEMBERS:

COURSE 11: CONSIDERATION OF OCCASIONAL SMALL  
ASSISTANCE ACTIONS SUCH AS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITY LOANS,  
WHEN APPROPRIATE, TO AVOID OVERLY NEGATIVE POSTURE.

TABLE OF ISSUES:

ISSUE 1: NARCOTICS CONTROL VS. NON-INVOLVEMENT: HELPING  
THE GUB SUPPRESS NARCOTICS TRAFFIC AND TRAFFICKERS INEVITABLY  
TO SOME EXTENT INVOLVES US ON THE SIDE OF THE BURMESE GOVERN-  
MENT IN ITS COUNTERINSURGENCY EFFORT, WHICH, ARGUABLY, INVOLVES  
THE SUPPRESSION OF SOME HUMAN RIGHTS.

REMARKS: THIS IS A MATTER OF DEGREE AND RELATIVE PRIOR-  
ITIES. NEITHER NARCOTICS CONTROL NOR NON-INVOLVEMENT SHOULD  
BE REAGRDED AS ABSOLUTE. AT THIS STAGE, OUR DEGREE OF IN-  
VOLVEMENT WITH THE GUB IS WELL BELOW THE DANGER LEVEL.

ISSUE2: HOW MUCH EMPHASIS ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR  
ANTI-NARC AID? THE EXCHANGE OF NOTES UNDER WHICH THE HELI-  
COPTERS, ETC. WERE PROVIDED IMPOSES VERY STRINGENT LIMITA-  
TIONS ON UTILIZATION AND, THROUGH AMBIGUITIES OF WORDING,  
OPENS THE DOOR TO DEMANDS FOR INFORMATION ON UTILIZATION  
THAT COULD IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES PROVE SO BURDENSOME AND  
SO OFFENSIVE TO NATIONALISM AS TO CAUSE THE GUB TO REJECT  
OUR AID AND COOPERATION. AS AND IF THE SCOPE OF AID IS  
ENLARGED, THE LIMITATIONS AND THE ACCOUNTABILITY REQUIRE-  
MENTS COULD BECOME QUITE UNREALISTIC. YET TO SEEK A REVISION  
OF THE NOTES WOULD NEEDLESSLY RAISE THE PROBLEM.

REMARKS: IF REVISION OF THE NOTES BECOMES A REALISTIC  
POSSIBILITY, IT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED: OTHERWISE, THE  
EMBASSY MUST CONTINUE ALERT IN CAUSING THE GUB TO KEEP UP  
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ITS SO-FAR SATISFACTORY RECORD OF COMPLIANCE, AND HOPE THAT  
COMMON SENSE WILL BE USED IN INTERPRETING THE LANGUAGE  
OF THE NOTES.

ISSUE 3: PRESSURE FOR REFORM VS. GOODWILL AND  
INFLUENCE: EXCESSIVELY HARSH US PRESSURE (E.G., VIA THE  
IBRD CONSULTATIVE GROUP) FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS COULD HURT  
OUR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS (E.G., JAPANESE FIRMS MIGHT WIN  
THE BEST CONTRACTS WHEN BURMA EVENTUALLY OPENS UP) OR OUR  
DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE (E.G., CAUSING GUB TO SIDE AGAINST US  
MORE VEHEMENTLY IN THIRD WORLD FORA).

REMARKS: WHILE THEORETICALLY VALID, THE US POSITION  
IS FAR FROM BEING THIS HARSH; FLEXIBILITY, HOWEVER, IS  
NECESSARY.  
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## Message Attributes

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